UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE
LOS ANGELES 24, CALIFORNIA

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Dear Irv:

There's not much I can add by way of comment to your paper, which is generally quite good, except to develop a complete dissertation of my own. My own published commentary on the Eastern European-Middle East events of 1956, as evaluated by the Politburo of the CC, CCP, in JMJP December 29, 1956, you will find in my International Position of Communist China; Political and Ideological Directions of Foreign Policy (NY: Institute of Pacific Relations, 1958). This was a data paper prepared for the 13th International Conference of the IPR in Lahore in February 1958. The points I tried to make there seem, in my judgment, to have been verified by later experience, up to this moment. Read it.

Your footnote 25, which is not documented, interested me. The "Five Principles," so far as I can determine, were first set forth in the Sino-Indian Trade Agreement of April 1954 concerning Tibetan trade; and Chou and Nehru restated them when Chou went through Delhi on his way home from the Geneva Conference of 1954 in June 1954. Certainly the April 1954 transaction predated anything NK might have said at Geneva, but I do not recall that he said anything about them at the 1954 Geneva Conference. The situation may have been different by the time of the Geneva "Summit Conference" of 1955, which was a different transaction, and followed the Sino-Indian negotiations. I do not know on what authority you state that the "Five Principles" were incorporated in a resolution of the Bandung Conference of 1955; this did not--repeat not--happen, and that was very significant. The "10 points" of Resolution "G" might seem to paraphrase the Five Principles, but note the avoidance of direct approval. (I make the last point on the basis of the texts available in my own library at home, and I may have missed something; if so, please let me know.) Paraphrased substance is not the same as approval or incorporation.

With typewriter ribbons so cheap, why not use a fresh one in the interest of legibility? Is JenMin JihPao the preferred Harvard form for Jen-min Jih-pao? (etc.)--I doubt it. These are details. Don't let the fact that I make them so directly bother you; why beat about the bush. "Peiping"--fooey--no matter how much used by NYTimes. As to general lines of interpretation, there is no uniform agreement, which means that the validity of each analysis rests upon two things: (1) the fidelity with which the meaning of each successive pronouncement is extracted from the surrounding verbiage; and (2) the manner in which the meaning is interpreted in the light of the actual political situation prevailing at a given moment. The situation changed rapidly; one needs a double-counter to keep track of the movements from synchro-mesh into over-drive and back again. No more of this.

I had hoped you might get down to Washington, where I saw a good deal of John Fairbank--to whom you might convey my best regards. The paper you are doing on J.B.Powell should be most interesting. I knew J.B. very well, better indeed than I knew his son who has more recently been in the news, but I had not tried to piece together his views of the Chinese Revolution in 1925-1927, which must have been very significant. In doing this job, you will need to get a full orientation

to American policy positions; I assume you are well-acquainted with Dorothy Borg's American Policy and the Chinese Revolution 1925-1928 (New York: 1947). You won't rely unduly on such secondary works when you have the full file of CWR to work from; yet, Dorothy spends a good deal of time with JBP (vide Index). I don't know what value JBP's autobiography, published shortly before his death, would have; the old man, by then, had lost track of most of the details of his earlier career. A good many Americans in China in the 1925-1927 period have left biographies: N.F.Allman, Randall Gould, Hallett Abend, and others; they help to give you an insight into the temper and frame of mind of the American community in China, of which JBP was a part.

I would like to see you "tighten up" your writing, and develop lines of argument and analysis in which you use (instead of being used by) the kinds of data and documentation you find. This is extremely difficult, but it distinguishes scholarly research from journalism. Documents also need to be evaluated in terms of their relative significance; thus, the JMJP editorial of December 29, 1956, is much more revealing than the TKP editorial of November 13, 1956. I would not have let you get away with footnotes 1-14, with all the Ibid.'s (which should be underlined, since the abbreviation Ibid. is from the Latin). Where did Allen Whiting's article "Contradictions in the Moscow-Peiping Axis" appear?(note 47); and also note that you do not underline (as quoted immediately above) titles of articles given in quotes! But now we're dealing with stylistic detail.

Where do you go from here? Assuming your successful work toward the M.A. in Chinese Studies at Harvard, are you a Ford or other applicant or suppliant? What do you think you will be doing from here on in? Ph.D. somewhere? Chinese studies?

Now for more personal notes at this end: Upon returning from Washington-New York at the first of the month, I was hit by virus and bacillary infections that laid me low for 2 weeks, and from which I'm only now beginning to recover. (Attribute any bluntness in what precedes to the effects of the illness.) I'm now trying to get through the last four weeks of the semester with a heavy crush of obligations, including an article on China I must do for Encyclopedia Britannica. I am on sabbatical leave next semester and, with a Fulbright Research Grant, will spend 6 months of it in India--leaving here in mid-July, and returning about February 1, 1960. My Indian association will be Delhi University, and more specifically (I believe) the Indian School of International Studies in New Delhi. I haven't yet gotten around to the manifold details, which include renting the house, packaging my library and personal belongings to ship to storage, etc., etc. But one thing at a time. The general situation makes it highly desirable that you let me know more about your plans for the future before about July 1; I'm very much interested in what you're doing, and wish you all kinds of success, and would not want to get out of touch with you.

Forgive the typography, etc.--this is being run off very hastily, but out of an eager desire to respond to your inquiry.

Sincerely yours

HaS

H. Arthur Steiner

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